

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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[PRICE 4d.]

THE SLAVE-TRADE IN ALGERIA.

ADDRESS OF THE INSTITUT D'AFRIQUE TO MARSHAL BUGEAUD, NOW
DUKE OF ISLY.

Paris, September 27, 1844.

To Marshal Bugeaud, Governor of the French Possessions in
Northern Africa.

MONSIEUR MARSHAL,—We acquit ourselves of a duty towards the Institut d'Afrique, of which you are one of the oldest presidents, in calling your attention to the traffic in slaves which is daily carried on at the markets of Bona, Oran, and Algiers.

One of our most ardent wishes would be to see you, after having subdued the warlike people of Algiers, abolish by a proclamation, signed with your own name, the sale of human beings.

We acknowledge that you have nothing to add to your military glory; but after the sanguinary struggles of war should come the serious cares which humanity demands.

It is, then, in the name of humanity that we conjure you to put an end to this infamous traffic, anathematized by philosophy, resisted by morality, and denounced by religion. Not only do we obey the voice of conscience, but we are the echo of a thousand voices which arise from all sides, to reproach us with the maintenance of the odious institution of slavery in Algeria.

Whatever may be the causes which have prevented your predecessors from giving satisfaction to wishes so generally expressed, we doubt not, from our personal knowledge of you, that your generous heart and resolute temper will not hesitate a moment to put an end to these criminal sales of human beings which scandalize the world.

This grand measure, be well persuaded, Monsieur, will give to your glory an ineffaceable splendour. It will, without doubt, produce an immense sensation in the markets of the East, and will be received with profound satisfaction by all humane men of all nations.

Will you hear the prayer of your colleagues, who assure you beforehand of their unalterable gratitude?

We have the honour to be, with the highest consideration, Monsieur Marshal,

Your very humble and very obedient servants,

The President of the Institut d'Afrique,

LE DUC DE MONTMORENCY,

The Secretary-General,

HYP. DE ST. ANTHOINE.

(Adopted in Session.)

DOMINICA.

TO THE RIGHT HON. BARON STANLEY, HER MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES, ETC. ETC.

MY LORD.—The events which have transpired in the island of Dominica have filled the friends of the emancipated classes in this country with sorrow and alarm. That any outbreak should have taken place among them, from whatever cause it might have arisen, would have been matter for regret; but that such an outbreak should have occurred as to have led to the proclamation of martial law for its suppression, and to the sacrifice of the lives and liberties of not a few of the peasantry to secure the peace of the colony, gives rise to feelings and apprehensions of the most painful nature. Under the influence of these feelings the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society beg permission to address your Lordship, not for the purpose of justifying any act of the Dominica peasantry which either the law of the colony or the law of morals condemns; but for the purpose of securing to them that justice and consideration which their circumstances imperatively demand.

The outbreak commenced on the 3rd of June last. The ostensible, if not the real cause of its occurrence, was the taking of the census of the island. It was confined in its operation principally to Grand Bay and Point Michelle, and included, when at its height, comparatively few of the labouring class, the great bulk of the population having quietly submitted to the progress of the enumerators, and continued at their usual peaceful occupations. The suddenness of the outbreak, and the acts of those implicated in it, prove that there was no pre-concert or organization among the peasantry; and at no time did it assume any other form than that of riotous opposition to certain of the enumerators, attended with excesses on the part of some of them against obnoxious individuals, which the Committee cannot but condemn, and which deserve undoubtedly both reprehension and punishment. They cannot, however, disguise from your Lordship their conviction, that, had proper means been adopted by the President of the island, to explain the real object of the Census Act, and had judicious persons been selected to act as enumerators, the outbreak would never have occurred; and that, such as it was, had his Honour acted with the promptness

and calmness which the circumstances of the case required, the ordinary police of the island would have been sufficient to have quelled the disturbance, and to have brought the offenders to justice.

Instead of doing this, however, the President proclaimed martial law on the following day, despatched orders to Barbados for troops of the line, to reinforce those already in the island, reorganized the militia, issued commissions, and armed for the most part a body of young men, who, either under the influence of exaggerated fears, or of evil passions, marched to the disturbed districts, not to put down an insurrectionary movement on the part of the labourers, (for none such existed,) but to capture all whom they chose to consider rioters or rebels.

How this undisciplined militia acted is matter of record. On the 5th of June, a detachment of seven volunteers and three pioneers, under the command of Mr. H. Bellot, who had been maltreated on the 3rd instant, proceeded to the house of one Jerome, who, it is alleged, had been a principal in the assault. On his refusing to surrender, he was ordered to be taken into custody, but the fear of the party prevented this being done; and, on his showing resistance, he was first bayoneted, then shot in the arm, and finally shot dead by Mr. Bellot, who, not content with the death of his victim, caused his head to be severed from his body, and stuck on a pole on the Bencoa cross-road! Jerome was unarmed when this military party of eleven men, eight of whom were armed, ordered him into custody; his capture was easy; a mere rush upon him might have secured him; but the alarm of the militia led to the death of this unhappy person; and the subsequent uncalled-for act of ferocity must be regarded as a standing disgrace to the body to which they belonged. This was not the only act of the kind which disgraced the militia. At Point Michelle, a man named Jean Charles had been taken into custody on the charge of having struck certain parties during the riot. On his attempting to make his escape from them, he was immediately shot dead, and his head was also severed from his body, and exposed as an object of terror to the negroes in that quarter! A poor fellow, named Jean Baptiste, who, hearing angry words pass between the prisoner and the militia detachment, came out of his house for the purpose of advising him to go on quietly, as he was "in the hands of the law," was inhumanly fired upon, and dreadfully wounded. The party who committed these outrages was commanded by Sergeant James Watson.

By the time the militia turned out on the 5th of June the riots were over, and they were therefore principally engaged in securing persons as prisoners who offered them no resistance. Many parties of them were taken into custody, some in their own homes, others at their labour, none of them in arms. They were tied or fettered, and sent by escorts to Roseau; and some of them were so inhumanly fastened with cords, especially a body composed of eighteen labourers and seven women, one of them large in the family way, that the ligatures were obliged to be cut.

Three hundred prisoners were captured by the militia, upwards of two-thirds of whom were released by the court of inquiry, composed of the privy council, assisted by the attorney-general: a clear proof that the militia did not exhibit either discrimination in their seizures, or humanity in their conduct.

The prisoners committed for trial were ninety-four in number, and among them was one Motard, who stood charged with *wounding with intent to kill* the Hon. J. Bremmer. This unfortunate man was without counsel to aid him in his defence; the only two counsel in the island, Messrs. Blanc and Letang, having refused to assist him, on grounds dishonourable to their professional character, and most cruel to the prisoner. One of them is reported to have said, that it would "establish a bad precedent;" and that "he thought it a hard case that the prisoner at the bar should be defended by the money of that public, whose property and lives he had recently endeavoured to take!" The consequence was, that no exception was taken to the indictment, no cross-examination of the witnesses for the prosecution, no defence of the prisoner. The jury, however, would have given a qualified verdict in favour of Motard, but were not permitted to do so by the court, and he was found guilty on the capital charge, sentenced to death, and executed by order of the President, without any previous appeal to the Governor-General, Sir Charles Fitzroy (which ought to have been made), although there was nothing in the evidence which clearly proved that Motard had thrown the stone which slightly wounded Mr. Bremmer in the cheek, or used the violent and rash language attributed to him by the prosecutor. In reviewing this case, so far as the facts have transpired, the Committee cannot but express the opinion, that Motard was sacrificed to the spirit of colonial violence. His prosecutor, who was he? A planter, and brother-in-law of the President. The attorney-general, who was he? A man without a legal education, and who conducted the prosecution in a spirit abhorrent to British law and British feeling. The judges and jury, who were

they? Planters, colonists, and militia-men, whose unworthy fears had led to the proclamation of martial law, and whose insane prejudices and want of self-control were but too clearly marked throughout the unhappy affair. And the President, who suffered Motard to be executed, who was he? A planter and large planting attorney, on one of whose estates (Canefield) the first outbreak is alleged to have taken place.

From such men, and under such circumstances, it was too much to expect that the trials of the prisoners would be conducted with that impartiality which would have ensured the innocent acquittal, and afforded the guilty no just cause of complaint. The Committee, therefore, deeply regret that the Governor-General, Sir Charles Fitzroy, who arrived off the island on Saturday, the 8th of June, but did not land until the following day, and while yet martial law was in existence, and the jails crowded with prisoners, should have deemed it to be consistent with his duty, a short time after his arrival, to have departed thence on a complimentary visit to the governor of the French island of Martinique. The only acts of his Excellency which attracted public attention were his visit to the jail, the issue of a military order thanking the militia for the manner in which they had performed their duty, a proclamation to the negroes who had fled from their homes, and sanctioning the ball given by the President, during his brief stay in the island, by his presence.

The visit of his Excellency to the jail was remarkable. Accompanied by the President, the Board of Council, the Attorney-General, and others, he is represented to have addressed the prisoners upon their shameful conduct, the state in which they had placed the country, and the consequence which must result to the guilty; and after this harangue he called on the Attorney-General to address them also! The Committee make no comment on this act of his Excellency, further than to say, that, in their judgment, it was altogether unwarranted, and calculated seriously to prejudice the cause of the accused when brought before the criminal tribunals of the colony. Another act of his Excellency having a similar tendency, was the proclamation issued to those negroes who had fled from the disturbed districts and sought refuge in the woods and mountains. These are all treated as guilty persons who deservedly merited punishment. It never seems to have struck his Excellency that many, or that most of them, might have been instigated by their fears of oppression to fly from their homes at the approach of the militia, from whom past experience had taught them to expect no favour.

Throughout the whole of the proceedings, the Committee grieve to say, a disposition evidently existed on the part of the authorities to prejudge the cases of the accused negroes, and even to deprive them of the means of defence. Mr. Letang, the only resident counsel in the island besides the Attorney-General, stated publicly, that he had offered his services to that functionary to assist him in the prosecution. And an extra session of the House of Assembly was actually convened to secure the services of Mr. Blanc, who had come from Tortola to the island, probably for the purpose of assisting the same functionary to carry on the prosecutions. Happily, however, for the credit of the House, the motion was resisted as unconstitutional, and it was not carried, notwithstanding the Speaker of the House insisted that they were competent to appoint Mr. Blanc to assist the Attorney-General in his duties.

In inquiring into the cause which led to the outbreak, it is clear to the apprehension of the Committee, that the resistance of the negroes in the disturbed districts to the Census Act, arose from the fear that it was intended to reduce them again to the condition of slaves. In proof of this it is but necessary to peruse the evidence taken on such of the trials as have already taken place. To the Committee it is also clear that the responsibility of the outbreak may be traced to the conduct of certain of the planters and enumerators, and they believe that this will become apparent if a rigid and impartial examination of the whole affair be instituted by the Government. No doubt the alarm felt by the negroes was increased by the fact that a planter was President of the island, whose conduct under the system of slavery was open to the gravest censure, and who, subsequently to his taking office as President, has laid himself open to charges of such a character as to justify the immediate interposition of the home government for his removal.

Such is a bare outline of the facts connected with the recent outbreak. Having submitted them to the serious consideration of your Lordship, the Committee would venture to express the hope that her Majesty's Government will feel it to be necessary, first, to cause a rigid and impartial inquiry to be instituted into the cause or causes which led to that outbreak; secondly, to obtain attested minutes of the trials of the prisoners, including copies of the indictments, evidence, verdicts, and sentences, in each case respectively; thirdly, to secure correct lists of the parties who filled the offices of judges and jury, stating their occupations, whether they acted as militia-men during the late disturbances, or were in any way, directly or indirectly, connected with the districts where they broke out. The Committee would also venture respectfully and earnestly to recommend to your Lordship the revision of the sentences passed by the Court on the prisoners. In reference to five unhappy persons sentenced to death, the Committee are happy to find that a respite from his Excellency, Sir Charles Fitzroy, arrived just in time to stay execution. On many of the prisoners sentences of imprisonment, varying from six months to two years, with hard labour, have been passed; and to punishment have been added fines, varying from 10*l.* to 40*l.*, to be paid at the termination of their imprisonment; at which period also they will be required to enter into recognizances,

both personally and by sureties, to keep the peace for a period of two years. Now the Committee need scarcely inform your Lordship that such sentences are tantamount to imprisonment for life, for it is not probable that persons in their condition will ever be able to pay the fines, or obtain the sureties required. The Committee trust, therefore, that the grace of the Crown will be displayed in reducing the period of their imprisonment to the shortest term, and in remitting the other part of their sentences altogether. Such leniency, they are convinced, will not be abused, and will have the effect of quieting the minds of the people at large, by an assurance that no sinister design exists against their freedom.

In reference to the prisoners who are untried, of whom there are a considerable number, it is understood the trials were put off for a period of nearly one month, in consequence of one of the judges, Mr. Doyle, from some personal cause, not being able to attend. This gentleman, a civilian, is the editor of the *Colonist*, and, judging from the tenor of its articles, not the most suitable person to preside as a judge over the parties implicated in the outbreak.

In reviewing the whole of the affair, the Committee feel convinced that her Majesty's Government will judge it to be indispensably necessary, that the government of the West India colonies should henceforth be administered by functionaries having no connexion whatever with their commercial or agricultural pursuits. It is a well-known fact, that, shortly after Mr. President Laidlaw came into office, he suggested to a body of planters the propriety of reducing the wages of the peasantry, already low enough, which terminated in a strike, lasting about three months; and that, in the matter of removing parties from the Crown lands, his conduct has been far from unexceptionable. The Committee consider this a vital point to the future peace and prosperity of the colonies. Nor less so do they esteem the continuance of the special magistracy. Without the presence of such a body of men to administer law between employers and labourers, and exclusively devoted to their duties, the Committee are convinced that justice cannot be secured to the emancipated classes. To supersede them, either to gratify the vanity or ambition of the colonists, and thus to arm the employers with power over their dependents, would, they are convinced, be fatally injurious to the welfare of the colonies, and the happiness of the great mass of the people. The Committee, therefore, trust her Majesty's Government will firmly resist every attempt to substitute a local for the special magistracy which at present exists.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,
Your Lordship's obedient humble servant,
JOHN SCOBLE.

27, New Broad-street, October 15, 1844.

REPLY.

Colonial Office, October 24, 1844.

SIR,—I am directed by Lord Stanley to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th inst., and to acquaint you in answer that his lordship is in communication with the Governor-in-chief of the Leeward Islands on the various subjects connected with the late disturbances in Dominica which appear to require the attention of her Majesty's Government.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
(Signed) JAMES STEPHEN.
To John Scoble, Esq.

LEGISLATION IN BRITISH GUIANA.

IN the month of June last, we called the special attention of our readers to an extraordinary piece of legislation in which the Combined Court of British Guiana had indulged, without notice, without reason, and involving a heavy charge on the colonial funds for many years to come. The Court is composed of planters and merchants whose interests are identified, and of five or six high civil functionaries, including, of course, the Governor. A body thus constituted, however well it might have represented the colony during the period of slavery, when the great bulk of the people were regarded, not as *men*, but as *things*, does not represent it now. The slave population have become free, and, with their freedom, they have become large contributors to its revenue, and ought, therefore, as well as their employers, to have a voice in its disposal. This, at present, they have not; and, as might be supposed, the predominant class use the common fund for their own interests. The only real check on arbitrary legislation, heavy taxation, and extravagant expenditure, is lodged in the Queen in Council; but, should her Majesty's advisers concur with the Combined Court as to the necessity or expediency of the measures they adopt, there is no help for the over-taxed community, who must bear the burden as they best may.

The legislation referred to embraced two measures; the one for raising half-a-million sterling for immigration purposes, the other, for securing an extravagant civil list to the Government until the year 1855, embracing items of the most objectionable character, but which it was thought might smooth the way for the acceptance of the Loan ordinance. In fact, it might have been regarded as a bribe, inasmuch as its sanction by her Majesty was made contingent upon the Loan ordinance becoming law. The ordinances, however, did not become law; the noble Lord, the Secretary for the Colonies, having refused to recommend them to the sanction of her Majesty, on the ground of the haste and precipitation with which they had been passed, and the illegal and unconstitutional manner in which

they were enacted. The noble Lord, however, did not object to the principle of the Loan ordinance, but took exception simply against the mode in which it had been passed, and the details which it comprehended; and he intimated, in a despatch to the Governor, that, provided his views were met and his suggestions adopted, another Loan ordinance might be passed; provided also, that the Civil List ordinance were re-enacted for a period of time commensurate with that which might be required to pay off the loan and interest accruing thereon, by means of a sinking-fund drawn from the taxes.

On the arrival of his Lordship's despatch, announcing the disallowance of the previous ordinances, a special session of the Combined Court was summoned by the Governor, when he laid before them the instructions he had received, whereupon they commenced legislating, if it may be so termed, *de novo*. Within the first twenty-four hours of their sitting they voted away 75,000*l.*, to be appropriated to the introduction of 5,000 Coolies by the end of March next year; and, during the last twenty-four hours, they re-enacted the Loan and Civil List ordinances, without, in either case, giving the tax-payers the slightest opportunity for the expression of their opinion, and without the least regard to their ability to bear the enormous debt sought to be imposed upon them.

As might be supposed, this mode of dealing with the great majority of the colony as nonentities, has excited their indignation; but as the leading local press is either under the control of the local Government, or in the pay of the planters, they have not been able to communicate their views with effect, or to adduce their reasons for opposition both to the principle and details of these obnoxious measures. They have, moreover, by an arbitrary regulation of the Governor's, been prevented from forwarding to her Majesty's Government, through the regular channel, their memorials against them; for the whole proceedings of the Legislature were conducted with such privacy, as well as haste, as to preclude the possibility of any organized opposition. It surely, therefore, cannot be too much to hope, under these circumstances, that the Government will suspend its sanction to the ordinances in their new form, until the parties who ought to be heard have been heard in relation thereto.

Had the Loan ordinance been passed for the purpose of meeting any public and pressing exigency, some excuse, perhaps, might have been found for the course pursued; but, in fact, it is not a public measure, intended for the public benefit, but really for private ends. It is an ordinance intended to enable certain great planters in British Guiana to bring from Africa and Asia masses of men, wherewith to extend the cultivation of their estates, and, at the same time, to lower the rate of wages of the native labourers, already low enough, at the public expense. Anything more objectionable in principle than this we can scarcely imagine. But the expense does not end with the original loan for the introduction of immigrants. The public are to be burdened still further. At the expiration of five years the colony must supply funds to return the immigrants imported, or the survivors of them, to their native land. These Lord Stanley computes at two-thirds. Thus other loan bills must pass to raise an additional 333,000*l.* for this purpose. And then—what then? Another half-million loan must be raised to introduce more labourers, or the cultivation in which they were engaged must cease; and so on until the colony is ruined, which it must be by such a series of measures. And whence are the vast sums to be appropriated to the introduction of foreign and transitory labour, and the interest thereon, to come? The population of the colony, at its last census, was under one hundred thousand, and these, with the exception of a few thousands, are labourers. Already they have heavy burdens to bear, and yet it is proposed greatly to increase them, and that, too, for an indefinite period of time. But in addition to the objection they feel to this monetary burden, they decidedly and unanimously protest against the introduction among their wives and daughters of hordes of idolatrous and sensual Chinese and Hindoos, whose presence they dread, and justly dread, as that of a moral pestilence. In the appeals which they have forwarded to us, they entreat their British friends to aid them to the utmost of their power in preventing an evil they so much dread. Against the fair competition occasioned by spontaneous and free emigration into Guiana they do not strive, neither would they hinder the proprietors of estates from introducing as many labourers as they please at their own cost and charge, provided they are brought in free, and allowed to remain so; but against any other mode of supplying the alleged want of labour they declare their most decided opposition; and we declare our opposition also, for reasons we shall hereafter lay before the friends of humanity, justice, and liberty in this country.

SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

FROM the admirable address of Mr. Emerson, which we noticed in our last, we quote a passage in which the grievous wrongs to which citizens of the free states are exposed by the iniquitous laws of the slave states of America are forcibly stated:—

"Forgive me, fellow-citizens, if I own to you, that in the last few days that my attention has been occupied with this history, I have not been able to read a page of it, without the most painful comparisons. Whilst I have read of England, I have thought of New England. Whilst I have meditated, in my solitary walks, on the magnanimity of the English Bench and Senate, reaching out the benefit of the law to the most helpless citizen of her world-wide realm, I have found myself oppressed by other thoughts. As I have walked in the pastures, and along the edge of woods, I could not keep my imagination on those agreeable figures, for other images that intruded on me. I could not see the great vision of the pa-

triot and senators who have adopted the slave's cause:—they turned their backs on me. No: I see other pictures—of mean men: I see very poor, very ill-clothed, very ignorant men, not surrounded by happy friends;—to be plain,—poor black men, of obscure employment, as mariners, cooks, or stewards, in ships, yet citizens of this our commonwealth of Massachusetts, free born as we, whom the slave-laws of the states of South Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana, have arrested in the vessels in which they visited those ports, and shut up in jails so long as the vessel remained in port, with the stringent addition, that if the ship-master fails to pay the costs of this official arrest, and the board in jail, these citizens are to be sold for slaves, to pay that expense. This man, these men, I see, and no law to save them. Fellow-citizens, this crime will not be hushed up any longer. I have learned that a citizen of Nantucket, walking in New Orleans, found a free-born citizen of Nantucket—a man, too, of great personal worth, and, as it happened, very dear to him, as having saved his own life, working chained in the streets of that city, kidnapped by such a process as this. In the sleep of the laws, the private interference of two excellent citizens of Boston has, I have ascertained, rescued several natives of this state from these southern prisons. Gentlemen, I thought the deck of a Massachusetts ship was as much the territory of Massachusetts, as the floor on which we stand. It should be as sacred as the temple of God. The poorest fishing-smack, that floats under the shadow of an iceberg in the northern seas, or hunts the whale in the southern ocean, should be encompassed by her laws with comfort and protection, as much as within the arms of Cape Ann and Cape Cod: and this kidnapping is suffered within our own land and federation, whilst the fourth article of the Constitution of the United States ordains in terms, that "The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states." If such a damnable outrage can be committed on the person of a citizen with impunity, let the Governor break the broad seal of the state; he wears the sword in vain. The Governor of Massachusetts is a trifler; the State-house in Boston is a play-house; the General Court is a dishonoured body, if they make laws which they cannot execute. The great-hearted Puritans have left no posterity. The rich men may walk in State-street, but they walk without honour; and the farmers may brag their democracy in the country, but they are disgraced men. If the state has no power to defend its own people in its own shipping, because it has delegated that power to the Federal Government, has it no representation in the Federal Government? Are those men dumb? I am no lawyer, and cannot indicate the forms applicable to the case, but here is something which transcends all forms. Let the senators and representatives of the state, containing a population of a million freemen, go in a body before the Congress, and say, that they have a demand to make on them so imperative, that all functions of government must stop, until it is satisfied. If ordinary legislation cannot reach it, then extraordinary must be applied. The Congress should instruct the President to send to those ports of Charlestown, Savannah, and New Orleans, such orders and such force, as shall release, forthwith, all such citizens of Massachusetts as were holden in prison without the allegation of any crime, and should set on foot the strictest inquisition to discover where such persons, brought into slavery by these local laws, at any time heretofore, may now be. That first;—and then, let order be taken to indemnify all such as have been incarcerated. As for dangers to the Union, from such demands!—the Union is already at an end, when the first citizen of Massachusetts is thus outraged. Is it an union and covenant in which the state of Massachusetts agrees to be imprisoned, and the state of Carolina to imprison? Gentlemen, I am loth to say harsh things, and perhaps I know too little of politics for the smallest weight to attach to any censure of mine,—but I am at a loss how to characterise the tameness and silence of the two senators and the ten representatives of the state at Washington. To what purpose have we clothed each of those representatives with the power of seventy thousand persons, and each senator with nearly half a million, if they are to sit dumb at their desks, and see their constituents captured and sold;—perhaps to gentlemen sitting by them in the hall? There is a scandalous rumour that has been swelling louder of late years,—perhaps it is wholly false,—that members are bullied into silence by southern gentlemen. It is so easy to omit to speak, or even to be absent, when delicate things are to be handled. I may as well say what all men feel, that whilst our very amiable and very innocent representatives and senators, at Washington, are accomplished lawyers and merchants, and very eloquent at dinners and at caucuses, there is a disastrous want of men from New England. I would gladly make exceptions, and you will not suffer me to forget one eloquent old man, in whose veins the blood of Massachusetts rolls, and who singly has defended the freedom of speech, and the rights of the free, against the usurpation of the slave-holder. But the reader of congressional debates in New England, is perplexed to see with what admirable sweetness and patience the majority of the free states are schooled and ridden by the minority of slave-holders. What if we should send thither representatives who were a particle less amiable and less innocent? I entreat you, sirs, let not this stain attach, let not this misery accumulate any longer. If the managers of our political parties are too prudent and too cold;—if, most unhappily, the ambitious class of young men, and political men, have found out, that these neglected victims are poor and without weight, that they have no graceful hospitalities to offer, no valuable business to throw into any man's hands, no strong vote to cast at the elections, and therefore may with impunity be left in their chains, or to the chance of chains,—then let the citizens, in their primary capacity, take up their cause on this very ground, and say to the government of the state, and of the Union, that government exists to defend the weak and the poor and the injured party; the rich and the strong can better take care of themselves. And as an omen and assurance of success, I point you to the bright example which England set you, on this day, ten years ago."

SUSPECTED AMERICAN SLAVE-TRADERS.—An examination has been made of the cargoes of the schooners *Manchester* and *Devereux*, of and from Baltimore, which were seized last week by order of the collector of Boston, on suspicion of being fitted out for the slave-trade; but nothing has been discovered to sustain the accusation. It is admitted that their destination was the coast of Africa, but the captains declare that they only contemplated engaging in lawful commercial business.—*Liberator*.

NOTICES.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, published on alternate Wednesdays, and may be had of all Newsvenders throughout the country. Price 4d., or 8s. 8d. per annum. A few complete volumes are on hand.

Subscriptions and Donations to the Society should be forwarded to the Treasurer, (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad-street, London.

All Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* must be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, OCTOBER 30, 1844.

OUR columns will be found largely occupied to-day with the affairs of Dominica; but the subject is of sufficient importance to justify the room we have allotted to it. In the first place, we are enabled to present to our readers the memorial which has been addressed to Lord Stanley by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in relation to the late disturbances in the island named. The answer of his Lordship, although short, is not altogether unsatisfactory. He admits that there are some points in this unhappy business which require notice, and states that he is in communication with the Governor-General of the Leeward Islands in relation to them. Of course, we cannot expect a disclosure of the tenour of this correspondence. We can only hope that, when it shall be laid before Parliament, it will be found to do honour to the Colonial Secretary, and justice to all the parties concerned.

In the next place, we insert a letter which has been addressed to us by a correspondent in the island of Dominica itself, giving a detailed account of the alleged riotous proceedings there. Although the letter is long, and contains much which has already appeared in our pages, we have made an effort to insert the whole, partly out of respect to our correspondent (of whose name we are in possession), and partly on account of the new matter, which could not be very well separated from the rest. As the letter is, with a becoming boldness, published on the spot, its statements will be subject to an immediate revision, and, if inaccurate, to prompt correction. It will be found strongly to confirm the view which we have throughout taken of the outbreak, and to throw the blame where we can entertain no doubt it most justly lies.

The *Dominican* informs us that no fewer than eighty-seven persons have been convicted in the course of these extraordinary prosecutions, and that the whole are undergoing sentences dooming them to various degrees of fine and imprisonment. In the House of Assembly it has transpired that Mr. Le Blanc, one of the only two counsel in Dominica, was secretly retained by the Executive to help the attorney-general!—when, if either party wanted help, it was pre-eminently the poor ignorant labourers who were upon their trial. Upon a remuneration of 100*l.* being asked for this service, a spirited speech was made by Mr. Gordon, which we have read with much pleasure, and from which we make the following short extract:—

"It now comes out that Mr. Le Blanc was retained in *secret*. Was this to be added to the unfavourable impressions which were already in the world against us? Was it to show the members of the Anti-Slavery Society and the people of Aldermanbury that here, in an English court, men were tried for their lives by judges who had committed them, jurors who had hunted them, and a legislature who had strained every nerve to convict them by depriving them of every means of defence! I have said it before, and repeat it here, that those men had not, in the common acceptance of the term, a fair trial, although I do not for one moment say that any judge on the bench or jurors in the box tried them with a predetermination to convict them; but I do say that these things have left a handle against us; and here we are to-day confirming all that has been said, and may still be said, to our disadvantage."

From a correspondent at Oran we have received a translation of an address to the Duke of Isly (Marshal Bugeaud) from the Institut d'Afrique at Paris, in relation to the slave-trade notoriously carried on under French dominion in Algeria. The address does great credit to that body, and must, we should think, have a powerful effect. We trust it is only the first of a series of steps which will be taken by the Institute, if further measures should be found necessary in order to efface this foul blot from the fair fame of France.

Since writing the above we have seen in the *Morning Herald* Marshal Bugeaud's reply to the address of the Institut d'Afrique, on which we cannot at the moment make any extended remarks. It is, strange to say, in the negative, and pleads strongly for the continuance of the slave-trade in Algeria! Of the arguments which he urges upright and benevolent men can form but one opinion. It is evident, however, that he is not acquainted with the facts of the case. He writes, for example, as though the purchase of slaves was confined to the Arabs, and seems not to know that it is practised by Frenchmen. Many proofs of this have already appeared in our columns; but we give another, supplied to us by the last letter of our correspondent from Oran:—

"A captain of the chasseurs, a Mons. Traversier, now resident here, has just purchased a little black boy for 200 francs. An English lady asked the captain if he was not afraid of his government. 'No,' he replied, 'I purchased him at my own risk. If he runs away, the law does not permit me to reclaim him. This is my punishment.'"

WE have been struck by the following passage in the Address of the King of Holland to the States-General of that kingdom. His Majesty is reported to have said:—

"Notwithstanding some partial failures of the crops, our East Indian possessions enjoy tranquillity and prosperity."

"I regret that our West Indian colonies continue in a languishing state. However, means have been proposed to me to recover them, the applicability of which must be judged on the spot."

This official acknowledgment that the Dutch West India colonies are in a languishing state, is worthy of record. We cannot help asking why this should be the case. It is not for want, either of a fertile soil, or abundance of labour—of *slave-labour* too, that peculiar kind of labour which is tenaciously held by some persons to be so advantageous to proprietors of estates. Had such a statement been made respecting our own West India colonies, how would the pro-slavery advocate have triumphed! In truth, the state of Dutch Guiana is substantially that of every other slave-colony or country in the world; and the real cure is the abolition of slavery, together with the creation of a resident proprietary, who will do justice to their own interests.

An account will be found in our columns to-day of some interesting and important proceedings in the Portuguese Legislature on the subject of slavery and the slave-trade. After the lapse of nearly twelve months, Count Lavradio has renewed his motion for the abolition of slavery in the Indian possessions of the Portuguese crown; and he has again been met by the allegation on the part of the Government that they want information! No one can regard this as anything better than a pretext; a flimsy pretext, ill concealing a want of principle and purpose. We are glad to find the Duke of Palmella expressing his belief that the abolition of slavery is necessary to the extinction of the slave-trade; a position which derives but too painful an illustration from the fact, that an unwillingness to interfere with the profits of the slave-traders is at the bottom of the reluctance manifested by the Portuguese Government to abolish slavery. The peers of Portugal who have acted so noble a part on this occasion are entitled to the thanks of all friends of humanity, and they have set an example which is highly deserving of imitation in other countries. The Diet of Sweden, the States of Denmark, the Cortes of Spain, and the States-general of Holland, are all now in session: are there no Lavradios or Sa de Bandeiras in them?—individuals who might make the voice of benevolence and justice heard in the high places where it is their prerogative to sit?

WE inserted in our last a letter of Mr. Andrews, giving an explanation of Mr. Torrey's attempt to escape from Baltimore jail. We insert to-day two other documents, throwing some further light upon this matter. Mr. Torrey's letter to his wife is enough to break a heart of stone. We fully sympathise in the following remarks, which we extract with pleasure from the *Emancipator*:—

"Our friends may too hastily enter up judgment against brother Torrey, but the circumstances under which judgment is rendered *here*, and the suffering under which action was impelled *there*, are widely different. Brother Torrey had been confined in an old filthy prison, with felons of the basest kind for—days—his trial had been put far off—overtures for bail had failed—a long, tedious, insufferable imprisonment, stared him in the face—fever preyed upon his brain, and the tears of a lovely wife and children, swelled every river of the heart, and who can or will blame him for seeking relief from the accumulated sufferings which had gathered so thick upon him? We can be very cool in our philosophy at home—at a distance from the scene—with a good bed at night, pure air, kind friends, good food, and clear, cool water—and imagine how like martyrs we would endure the imprisonment; but the '*truth*' in his case, '*was no fiction*,' and health and life wasted under it, and *self-protection, self-preservation*, demanded effort for release. He *SOUGHT IT*, and say not you would not have done it under like circumstances and in like prison."

"Torrey is still in jail—in a gloomy cell, and perhaps still in chains. He needs your prayers more than ever—your sympathy and your money. The great questions in his case must be legitimately settled—Torrey's fate and the interests of the slave are deeply involved in these questions, and let no man, with the heart of a man to feel for the slave, or for the suffering philanthropist, draw back or flinch in this matter."

SLAVERY IN PORTUGUESE INDIA.

(From the Correspondent of the *Times*.)

ON the 7th of September, the Count de Lavradio called the attention of the Chamber of Peers to a project of law for the abolition of slavery in the Asiatic possessions of Portugal, presented in September, 1843, by him and the Viscount de Sa Bandeira, and which had been then postponed at the request of the Minister of Marine, in order to obtain further information on the subject. At the expiration of eleven months it was not unreasonable, he hoped, to call on the Chamber to take the subject into consideration.

Every member of that Chamber, he was sure, desired the extinction of the slave-trade in all the possessions of Portugal, and expensive efforts had been made to put down the traffic by means of cruisers. He was persuaded, however, so long as the state of slavery was permitted in any Portuguese possession, whatever more treaties might be made or cruisers employed, it would be impossible to put a stop to the slave-trade. From the port of Lisbon vessels were despatched for Africa; and he knew of some individuals who, since 1842, (the date of the treaty with Great Britain), had acquired riches by that traffic. The subject was allowed to drop without discussion, and was again brought before the Chamber by the Count de Lavradio on the 11th inst., when the project of law for the

abolition of slavery in the Asiatic Portuguese possessions was defeated by a majority of 23 votes against 18, all the supporters of ministers voting for the continuance of slavery; and Senhor Cabral, the specious talker against slavery and the slave-trade (whose interests are identical and mutually dependent), when the Chamber was called on to decide between the interests of slavery and those of humanity, strenuously opposed a measure calculated to promote the latter. He dwelt a good deal on his respect for the charter, and the sanctity of the rights of property secured by it, which would be invaded by the measure before the Chamber. The government, he said, must have fuller information on the subject (eleven months were given to obtain it), and the respect due to the rights of property required that the slaveholders should be indemnified (it happens that almost all the slaves in the Asiatic colonies belong to government). The real cause of the opposition of ministers to this measure is the prejudice to the slave-trade which is apprehended from it. It is said that two individuals largely interested in it are government contractors, among the late successful candidates for the soap and tobacco monopolies. The Minister of Marine opposed the measure on the same grounds on which it had been opposed by him eleven months ago, viz., the want of sufficient information. The Duke de Palmella supported it with great zeal and ability, as did likewise the Viscount de Sa Bandeira and the Count Lavradio. To the two latter peers great credit is due for their noble efforts on this occasion, as well as on former ones, in respect to the same subject. It is worthy of observation, that the same incontrovertible argument used by the Count de Lavradio was also urged at considerable length by the Duke de Palmella, "that the only way of abolishing the trade in slaves was by abolishing the market for the stolen men."

Senhor Cabral has at length proved the consistency of his character, and showed that he never professed to be a supporter of any cause that he did not ultimately abandon or betray. His earnestness, his simulated ardour in the cause of humanity when its interests were to be talked of, imposed on some, and on the writer among others. He has, however, shown, what indeed might have been expected, that a man who is a foe to freedom in his own land cannot be a friend to it abroad.

Among the members who voted with ministers for the continuance of slavery, it is painful to find a prelate, one of the new order, recently introduced into the Chamber. The bishop of Elvas commenced his parliamentary career with voting for an iniquity which desolates a large portion of the globe, and dishonours humanity—shame upon him!

In a preceding discussion Viscount Sa de Bandeira called the attention of the Chamber to a traffic in slavery on a small scale, carried on between Lisbon and the Brazils by persons who brought from Africa negroes, who were represented as free, and being sent to the Brazils from Lisbon were sold into slavery.

On the 12th inst. the Count de Lavradio moved for the appointment of a permanent committee of inquiry, charged with the examination of all matters connected with the state of slavery in the Portuguese possessions in Asia and Africa, and the traffic in slaves carried on in those possessions with other countries, especially the Brazils; the committee to consist of seven members, and to report annually to the Chamber on those subjects.

This proposal, on the 14th, received the sanction of the Chamber, and met with no opposition from ministers; the interests of the slave-trade were only distantly and slightly affected by it. When a measure that did tend to the immediate and complete destruction of those interests was brought before the Chamber, Senhor Cabral strenuously and effectually opposed it.

(From the Correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle*.)

The question of the extinction of slavery in the Indian possessions of Portugal, including Macao, and the islands of Timor and Solor, has been again brought before the Peers by Count Lavradio. Eleven months back the project of law for effecting this abolition, presented by the Count, in conjunction with Viscount Sa de Bandeira, was indefinitely postponed by the declaration of the Minister of Marine, that he must wait for information from the colonies on the subject. Friday last was fixed for the debate, when, after the lapse of a year, the Minister of Marine arose at the commencement of the discussion and made the same excuse which formerly cushioned the question—that the Government is not yet sufficiently informed upon the subject. And upon this ground he moved that the debate should be adjourned *sine die*. Count Lavradio expressed his astonishment at this apathy and negligence, and remarked on the presence of the late governor of Portuguese India in that Chamber as depriving the excuse of all value. He held that the adjournment was proposed that the question might never be discussed. There were still fairs held in their Indian possessions for the sale of slaves, and a contraband import and export of slaves was therefore inevitable, notwithstanding their humane professions, their treaty of July, 1842, with England, and the cruisers which they maintained under it for the nominal suppression of the blood-stained traffic. He argued that the number of slaves in those possessions was limited; that they belonged for the most part to the Government, which acquired possession of them at the period of the extinction of the convents, and that their ransom therefore would be little burdensome to the Treasury. Viscount Sa de Bandeira suggested that the difficulty of the question of compensation might be got rid of by voting the emancipation in principle, and postponing the details of the money question. The Duke de Palmella was of opinion that the adjournment was not sought upon sufficient grounds, it not being indispensable that they should have more minute information than they possessed. He inclined to think that the slave-trade never can be effectually abolished until slavery itself disappears. The British nation had given a splendid example of disinterestedness, but that example had been but meagerly followed, and the slave-trade still continued on a grand scale, though reduced to a contraband traffic. Portugal had solemnly adhered to the principle of abolition, and had contracted the obligation to act legislatively and executively in this sense. And assuredly the best means of obtaining this object was to adopt the proposed measure of abolition. The project did not interfere with the Portuguese possessions in Africa, where the best mode of cultivating the soil would remain a separate question. But he implored them to take this first step in Asia, to give this testimony of their sincerity in so holy and so just a cause. The conditions of the proposed emancipation were gradual, practical, prudent, and most favourable to

the slave proprietor. The slaves were to continue to work for some time without remuneration; after that time they were to receive a small amount of wages, and the proprietors were besides to be paid an indemnity. He therefore entreated the Minister to withdraw his motion of adjournment, and not to leave to their heirs the fulfilment of an act of humanity, to which they were in some measure bound, and which could only redound to their honour. The Minister of the Kingdom declined to desist from the policy of adjournment, and said, that if the Chamber precipitated the question, Ministers would not be responsible for the consequences. He likewise dwelt on the financial difficulties which the question of compensation to the slaveholders would involve. Senhor Trigueiros made an observation which appeared to reach the marrow of the question:—"The Government said, a year since, that it was without information: to-day it says the same thing. The Government is consistent, and does not deceive the Chamber, since it confirms to-day what it said last year." This argument was, of course, unanswerable. The debate having here terminated, Viscount Sa proposed that the clause relating to compensation should be postponed, and the rest adopted; but this amendment was not admitted to discussion. Count Lavradio proposed that the first clause (that relating to Goa) should alone be debated, and all the rest postponed, which was likewise rejected; and the question of adjournment *sine die* having then been put, was carried by 23 votes against 18. What the real feelings of the Government and of Portuguese politicians are upon this question may be inferred from the following language of the *Diario* in reference to the foregoing debate:—"Sentimentalism may inspire eloquent philanthropists in the tribune; but in the Cabinet it is a rock which must be cautiously shunned!" I have always declared that the Portuguese had no serious intention of emancipating their slaves, and is not my prediction verified? The Duke de Palmella's feelings of philanthropy are wonderfully sharpened by finding himself in opposition; and if he were in office he would perhaps be as slow to wound the interests of the slaveholder as he now is quick to wound the Minister.

CASE OF MR. TORREY.

(From the *Emancipator*.)

AFTER Mr. Torrey was defeated in his attempt to escape from jail—an attempt to which, as will be seen by Mr. Andrews' note, he was impelled by despair of other help—he was thrust into a dungeon, and forbidden to write to his friends. He, however, through the intercession of a humane gentleman, obtained permission on Saturday to write to his wife; and from this letter we are permitted to take an extract. It will deepen the sympathy of every generous heart both for him and for his family. Bear it in mind, all of you, that, whether Torrey has or has not done the things charged upon him, there is nothing charged but acts of common humanity—aiding oppressed and enslaved men to escape from slavery, and regain that liberty which God has made their "inalienable" birthright. It is for humanity that he suffers. Let humanity sympathize with him and succour him. The letter will speak for itself:—

"My dearest Wife,—I am in much affliction. When I wrote you last week, I was suffering with a brain fever, the effects of long and close confinement. Yesterday I made an attempt to escape, which was detected, or rather betrayed, by a counterfeiter named Dryer; and myself and others put into the cells, in irons. The excitement, with a cold cell, and irons so heavy and painful as to prevent all sleep, have brought on the fever again. I suppose I shall be so confined till October, if I survive so long. I deemed it my duty to try once to escape out of the hands of my enemies. But God knows best, and has ordered it otherwise."

After giving some directions in regard to his children, if he should be taken away, he proceeds:—

"Do not feel concerned for me, my dear wife. In the darkness and anguish of the last night, loaded with a chain that prevented my sleeping, standing up, or lying down, I was enabled to look up to our Saviour with cheerful confidence, knowing that his gracious hand will order all things for our good; and whether by suffering or otherwise, will help me to come off more than conqueror, through Him that loved us. The chain that is riveted to my ankles will not hinder our Lord from communing with me. I suffer for his sake, and in his cause, and he will not forsake me."

"Thank God! the good men who aided me are more than one hundred miles off, and far out of the reach of my persecutors. I will never allow others to suffer on my account, if I can help it. The man Dryer, who betrayed us, is a negro-trader, and is in prison for passing counterfeit money. He tried to get my confidence, professed to have become an abolitionist, and encouraged us to escape; all the while betraying our plans to the keepers. There is no trust to be put in such wicked men."

"You need not fear that the abortive attempt will harm me, except so far as present suffering is concerned. May God bless and comfort you. Kiss both our dear children for me. Tell them never to forget to pray for 'poor father.' I was much comforted a few days ago by a letter from brother B., of Cambridge, informing me how extensively I was remembered in the prayers of Christians in New York as well as in New England, and even in Pennsylvania and Ohio. God will hear them, however unworthy may be

"Your affectionate husband,

"Baltimore Jail, Sept. 14, 1844.

"CHAS. T. TORREY."

The same paper contains the following letter from Mr. Andrews:

"Baltimore, 18th Sept., 1844.

"FRIEND LEAVITT,—I send you a copy of my card in the *Sun* newspaper, respecting Mr. Torrey's attempt to escape, with corrections of several gross printer's errors."

"Since my last note to you, I have been confined most of the day to my bed by a violent cold, and have been unable to think or write. I have not visited Mr. Torrey for three days, but hope to be able to do so to-day. He is still in chains, and his health is rapidly failing. Mr. Cox, the partner of Mr. Gallagher, (who is himself absent from town,) visited him yesterday, and found him almost too feeble to converse with him. He is thrust into a dark and damp lower cell, and his recent attempt to escape is made the pretext for every species of petty tyranny. His situation is indeed intolerable."

"My position here is one of difficulty, and a painful sense of responsibility without much prospect of benefit. I am unable to write you at length to-day. I have only to beg, through you, of the friends of Mr. Torrey, and of humanity, not to form an unfavourable judgment of his course from the partial and hostile accounts of a portion of the Baltimore press, but to wait with patience a full development of facts not now before the public.

"Meantime, let his condition as a suffering man, guilty of no crime, call loud for the sympathy of all good and benevolent hearts.

"As respects the course to be taken in his case, I am not now able to advise you distinctly, as there has been no meeting of counsel. It is probable, however, that the course will be a *change of venue*, and a speedy trial in the Maryland case. If he should be acquitted in it, the same opportunity will again occur for a *habeas corpus* before the United States' courts. If convicted, he goes to the penitentiary, which he will not leave unless the doors are thrown open by the loud thunders of American and European indignation, by which the people of Maryland are certainly much more assailable than those of South Carolina.

"Let O'Connell speak now, and he will find a heart in Baltimore to respond. Do you see that the repealers of New Orleans, with a noble contrition, have doubled their contribution to the repeal fund which was returned to them, and forwarded it, with an humble apology for their previous reprimand upon O'Connell for his abolition. But the anti-slavery sentiment, even here, though it exists widely disseminated, is timid almost beyond conception, and might as well be dead, with a few noble exceptions, for all active and open measures, unless it can be either shocked or stung into energy from without.

"I still hope to be able, in a very few days, to come north.

"Yours, for liberty, S. P. ANDREWS."

THE LATE OUTBREAK IN DOMINICA.

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

SIR,—As many garbled and incorrect statements of the late disturbances in this colony have found their way into the columns of the English newspapers, especially one which I read in the *Atlas* of 20th July, I deem it a duty which I owe to my unfortunate countrymen to transmit you the following narrative of the transaction, in order that the real state of the case may be laid before the British public, and to disabuse their minds of any wrong impressions which the statements alluded to may have made upon them.

The 3d of June being appointed as the day upon which the census of our population was to be taken, the enumerators for the various districts commenced their operations. In Roseau the people cheerfully gave their names, with the exception of a man named Charles Ambrose, a very violent and ignorant person, who alleged that the cause of the census was to make the black people slaves again, and that the coloured people were leagued with the whites for that purpose. About this time, also, the enumerator for Charlotte's Ville came into Roseau, and stated that one John Woodman had prevented his proceeding with the taking of the census there; that he had threatened to take his life; that he (Woodman) was supported by a host of labouring people, armed with cutlasses, who one and all declared that they would rather die than give their names, because it was intended to reduce them to slavery again. At this intelligence that part of the town became one scene of bustle and excitement, and rumour with her hundred tongues commenced to proclaim that the labouring population in the interior were up in arms, and were meditating a descent upon the town. Whilst in this state of ferment, a person by the name of Cochrane arrived in Roseau, and stated that on his way to town he was pulled from his mule, beaten, and his watch and papers rifled from him by a body of labourers who were assembled at Canefield, and who were declaring that they wanted the president's head.

A privy-council was immediately convened at Government-house, and, whilst sitting, intelligence was received that Mr. Commissioner Bremner was beaten by the labourers of Saint Luke (South of Roseau); and that Mr. Stipendiary Magistrate O'Sullivan narrowly escaped with his life; and that his horse was severely wounded. This was, however, false, as Mr. O'Sullivan shortly after came into town, and stated that Mr. Bremner was wounded with a stone, and he (Mr. O'S.) had received no other injury than a blow from a stick thrown at him, and a slight cut which his horse had received, and which was not dangerous; but that the people were violent and excited. The alarm was then immediately fired, and martial law proclaimed.

The next day 18 or 20 militiamen and a detachment of the 1st W. I. Regt., accompanied by the inspector of police and five men, went to Canefield. The people who were assembled there, upon being spoken to by the officers, and told to disperse, or they would be fired upon, commenced reluctantly to do so, evidently dissatisfied with the explanation they had received of the object of the census. It was at this moment that an unfortunate African, who had been foremost among the "rioters," as the people have been termed, went into his house and commenced beating a drum: the house was immediately surrounded by the militiamen, and, finding that he was to be made a prisoner, the man attempted to effect his escape by leaping through his window and running away. He was instantly fired upon by a militiaman named Boy, and shot through the back, the bullet issuing at the abdomen! Some of his fellow-labourers took him into a house and ran away; and upon a gentleman, who had ridden out after the militia, entering the hut to see him, the poor fellow said, "Ah! massa, see what you buckra do we poor negro!" He shortly afterwards expired in the extremest agony. A girl was also shot accidentally in the leg by a militiaman, who, perceiving a man running on the road, fired at him, but struck the poor girl, who happened to be on the road at the same time.

It was in the course of this day that one W. N. Johnstone arrived in Roseau and gave information that the Grand Bay people had destroyed the dwelling-house of the estate upon which he is the manager—robbed his clothes—pillaged his shop—taking a puncheon of rum from the cellar which they consumed; and were committing unheard-of devastations in that quarter. This turned out to be unhappily too true; but the cause which led to this disgraceful conduct on the part of the people there was

the highly injudicious conduct of Mr. Commissioner Lockhart, who, on finding several of the labourers' huts shut as he went round with the enumerator, proceeded to break into them, the inmates at the time being at work in the field; who upon being informed that their huts had been broken open returned to their houses highly excited, and commenced congregating in great numbers, declaring that their liberty was about to be taken from them. They would listen to no explanation, and in their fury beat the enumerator, pursued Mr. Lockhart, and commenced the destruction of his property. From thence they proceeded to the Stowe estate, and destroyed Mr. Ellisonde's shop, taking away all it contained; they next went to his dwelling-house and destroyed all they could lay their hands upon. They then went to the Colibri estate, and after threatening the manager with personal violence, robbed him of his watch and some articles of clothing. Next they proceeded to the Bon Repose estate, and robbed, beat, and wounded the owner, Mr. Bellot. This seems to be the length to which the people went in this quarter; and which is highly censurable and much to be lamented, and for which those convicted at the Court of Oyer and Terminer have been deservedly punished.

On the next day (Wednesday the 5th) two companies of militia were marched to Grand Bay, whose proceedings there you will find narrated in the *Dominican*, of the 12th of June, which I herewith send you; as well as the revolting conduct pursued towards a man named Jerome, on the supposition that on the Tuesday before he had struck Mr. Bellot a blow.* The same paper will also show you how persons were allowed to assume militia command, and to seize, bind, and drag into town and thrust into jail, men and women who had done nothing, or against whom they had no cause of complaint. I allude to the cases which you will see marked.

It is not unworthy of remark, sir, that in all the excitement on the part of a people ignorant as our peasantry in general are, and left in the unmolested possession of so extensive a portion of the country as the Grand Bay quarter until Wednesday evening, the 5th of June, not one solitary act of murder or arson was perpetrated by them; whilst the militia had no sooner reached the quarter than the life of an unoffending woman was sacrificed. She received a shot from the musket of a militiaman, and died from locked jaw in consequence! and a man butchered through revenge had his head severed from the yet quivering body and placed upon a pole by the orders of a man who is not ashamed to call himself a Briton! whilst there are others to be found in this land who not only defend, but openly applaud this inhuman act! "A man, whose name we have not heard, having defied the soldiers, was slightly wounded; he immediately ran to his house, and afterwards rushing towards the troops with a dagger, exclaiming that he had drunk gunpowder and rum sufficient to withstand a dozen bullets; he bared his breast to his opponents, when one fatal ball levelled to the dust this misguided and wretched man; 'his was not a charmed life,' his imprecations and ravings no longer animated his rebellious companions; the awful beacon which is now exhibited on the high-road to Grand Bay, will, we trust, act as a solemn though silent monitor to those misguided people, that the laws of the land are not to be set at defiance, nor her Majesty's peaceful and loyal subjects threatened with death and destruction of property.

"The head of this rebel now blanches upon a pole erected at the junction of three roads near the scene of this dreadful tragedy!"—EDITOR, *Dominica Colonist*, June 8.

But this is not all: for the act of throwing a stick at Mr. O'Sullivan, which he himself admits inflicted but a slight blow, a man was shot at St. Luke, not at the time the blow was given, but in the course of the night of Saturday, five days after, he was taken from the house of his friend, and attempting to escape was shot, and his head severed from the yet living body: whilst his unfortunate friend and godfather hearing the cries of his godson, goes forth to request him to go on peaceably with his captors, is also fired upon, and dreadfully wounded through the arm, and left alone to crawl back to his hovel, where he remained in pain the most excruciating till the next day, when he was brought to town.

From the south side of Roseau turn we now to Colihaut, along the coast on the north. Here, too, through the injudicious conduct of Mr. Commissioner Gardie (a Frenchman), who said that the object of the census was to re-enslave the people, and that of his enumerator, Pichaud, who added that the use of the "cat" was to be "revived," the people resisted the operation of the census Act in that quarter—asssembled in great numbers displaying much wrath and threatening personal violence to the Commissioner and his enumerators who had to escape, or the threats, I have every reason to believe, would have been carried into effect. At this place also a man was shot by the militia, because on his perceiving them approaching him he attempted to escape by fording a river. This individual died subsequently at the Roseau infirmary.

Thus you will perceive, sir, that the rebellion, or revolt, or outbreak, as it has been called, was confined to but four localities,—Grand Bay, St. Luke, Canefield, and Colihaut; and that only in the Grand Bay quarter, was anything like injury to property committed by the rebels. I do not seek by this, sir, to defend their conduct, which has been shameful and unpardonable; but at the same time I think it right, if only to prevent the recurrence of a similar calamity in this island, to publish what they did, and what was done then, and subsequently, to them.

They destroyed property to a large amount at Grand Bay, and beat an individual. Two lives were taken there, and many of them are now undergoing imprisonment, solitary confinement, and hard labour.

A commissioner and magistrate were struck at St. Luke;—one man was shot in consequence and his head cut off; one wounded, one hung (by the law), and many are undergoing imprisonment and hard labour now.

At Canefield they assaulted and beat an individual;—one life was taken; three men sentenced to death, but the sentences were commuted by the Governor-General into imprisonment with hard labour.

At Colihaut, although neither property nor person was injured—one man was killed—many are undergoing imprisonment, at the expiration of which term they are to pay heavy fines.

From the foregoing it will be seen, sir, that the cause of this unfortunate outbreak is mainly attributable to the mistaken notion on the part

* A respectable woman, Mrs. John Marie Lafaille, is ready to prove that Jerome was working in his grounds at the time Mr. Bellot was beaten, and that he (Jerome) was not at Mr. Bellot's place that day.

of our ignorant peasantry, that the taking of the census was but a prelude to their being re-enslaved: and I am free to confess that the steps taken, since the assumption of the reins of government by our present Chief, to dispossess persons in the temporary occupancy of Crown lands, to turn them off from what has been termed the Queen's Three Chains, greatly favoured this impression upon the minds of the people, and in a great measure I am of opinion led to this lamentable transaction.

But, sir, that the authorities were aware of the impression upon the minds of the people before the outbreak did take place, take the following from the speech of the Attorney-General in his place in the Assembly on the 28th of May, six days before the census was taken. "There was no doubt that at the present moment a considerable degree of suspicion prevailed amongst the lower orders, not only with reference to the superior tribunals which administered justice, but even towards the deliberative bodies—the council and assembly which enacted the laws. *Has it not been circulated through some of the remoter districts that the object of so innocent and interesting a process as the intending counting of the people is but a preparatory step to re-establish slavery?* Some designing person first started the idea, and lo! the trouble it has given to efface it. (?) He saw a large number of the class of persons he alluded to about the windows of the house to-day—rather an unusual muster; and therefore he took this opportunity, with permission of the House, to tell them thus publicly, that the report was as false as it was foolish, and that they need never fear their interests would ever be injuriously assailed—so long as they sought that interest only in subordination and not contrary to the laws, and to the general interests."

Now, sir, if such was the impression, nay, the certainty upon the mind of the Attorney-General, is it not highly culpable in that functionary that he did not represent the matter to the executive; and leave it to him to take such measures as would have disabused the minds of the people, and save the country this disaster into which it has been plunged? Ought not the taking of the census to have been postponed till it was ascertained that the taking thereof would be accomplished without danger, as was the case when a census was to be taken in Scotland and Ireland some years ago? But no, our authorities neglected these preventive measures; and now that evil has accrued from their want of foresight all the blame is sought to be thrown upon the shoulders of the unfortunate, but in this instance highly censurable, blacks.

It will thus be perceived, sir, that *five individuals have been shot under MARTIAL LAW, and two of their heads were severed from their bodies, under circumstances the most unjustifiable and revolting; the raising of these heads upon poles is barbarous in the extreme: and one man has been executed under civil law for throwing a stone at and striking the President's brother-in-law.*

Such, sir, is a true and faithful account of the late outbreak and its results. Apologising for the space which I have occupied in bringing the matter before you,

I am, Sir, your very obedient servant,

TRUTH.

BIRMINGHAM ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

(From the Pilot.)

ON the 22nd instant, the annual meeting of the Birmingham Anti-slavery Society was held in Cannon-street Chapel.

The MAYOR having been called to preside, said that he felt great pleasure in taking the chair upon that occasion; it was a gratification to him to be connected with such a society, and he thought any man might be proud of presiding over its meetings. He believed there had been great progress made in emancipation, but there was still much to be done, and they ought not to relax in their efforts, whilst there were three millions of slaves in the Brazils, and from two to three millions in America. There was, however, encouragement in the fact, that society was advancing. Discoveries in the arts and sciences had done much towards the advancement of humanity. Free trade would do still more, and he thought that, in combination with Christianity, such agencies would, by civilizing society, and increasing the intercourse between nations, do much to forward the anti-slavery cause.

Mr. W. MORGAN, after announcing letters of apology from Reverends Messrs. James and Roberts, read the report, which will be found along with the resolution, in our advertising columns.

The Rev. Mr. MORGAN moved that the report be received. He was sorry to find it of so gloomy a character. It was now sixty years since Clarkson and his fellow-labourers commenced the anti-slavery agitation, and it was very disheartening to see how little had been done. So far from slavery having been abolished, it had, taking all countries into consideration, actually increased. Africa now exported four times as many slaves as at the period to which he had alluded. When the allied sovereigns were in England, they were unanimous in their condemnation of the slave-trade, and promised to abolish it. But what had been done? What had France done? What had Spain done? What had any of them done? Governments had been lavish in their promises to extinguish the traffic, but its horrors had been actually increased by their preventive measures. He believed that the gospel was the only efficient engine for the suppression of slavery, and he thought that they would do well to direct their energies to Christianizing Africa.

Mr. SWANN seconded the resolution. He said that he could not altogether agree with Mr. Morgan on the melancholy view of things that he took. However much remained to be done, there was still room for glorying in what had been already accomplished. He could not agree with the policy of merging anti-slavery efforts into missionary efforts. He had no great partiality for government aid, but he thought that they must employ every means for the attainment of their object. Neither were Christian churches to be entirely depended upon. The Free Church of Scotland had taken 10,000*l.* from the slaveholder of America. Their own church, too, was implicated. All denominations of Christians in America were contaminated; even the Quakers were so; and he should almost expect to be corrupted himself, were he to come in contact with the system. There required strong-minded men to grapple with these evils—white slavery as well as black slavery,—and he rejoiced in the belief that such radical men were springing up.

The Rev. Mr. DAWSON moved the second resolution. He said that they were told on high authority that it was useless to put "a new patch on an old garment." Now he believed, that, to attempt to put down slavery by military power was to commit this mistake. Soldiers themselves were slaves to their commanders; and, in the endeavour to abolish slavery through their instrumentality, we were encouraging one system of slavery for the purpose of destroying another. Moral ends must be attained by moral weapons. Cannons and gunpowder would never put down slavery. It might be shown, too, that the physical-force system was inexpedient, inasmuch as it increased the evils it was intended to prevent. The men employed by it were demoralized by it. They cared not for the slaves; the prize-money was their object; and these poor creatures, when rescued from bondage, they were not any better treated than on board the slavers. Nay, it appeared that in some cases they got "out of the frying-pan into the fire." Slavery could not be cured by such peddling systems. They would never gain a good end by evil means.

Mr. SCOBLE seconded the resolution. After enlarging at some length on the topics treated of in the other speeches, said that, before concluding, he would venture to call attention to a subject pregnant with importance, namely, the emigration of African, Chinese, and Indian labourers to the British emancipated colonies. Having glanced at the results of successive schemes for supplying these colonies with labourers arising from the dreadful mortality and the great expense attending them, he stated that it was now understood the Government were bent upon a new and gigantic scheme of emigration, the fruit of the combined wisdom of the West India body and the Colonial Office, and that no expense or exertion would be spared to realize it. Lord Stanley, it is reported, promises the colonies a loan of a million and a half of money, upon their complying with certain conditions for its repayment. To obtain it an appeal will be made to Parliament at the opening of the next session. This large sum is to be devoted to the introduction of the natives of Africa and Asia as agricultural labourers. The former will be taken from the British settlements, but chiefly from Sierra Leone. Now for the circumstances under which they will be removed. Until a recent period the captured Africans, on their liberation from slavery, by sentence of the Mixed Commission courts, were taken under the care of Government. They were fed, clothed, and sheltered, until they could be placed in a position to earn their own living. And this was both natural and necessary, arriving, as they usually did, in a state of great emaciation and weakness. For the diseased, of whom there was often a large number, a hospital and medical care was provided; but henceforth there is to be no hospital for the sick; no superintendents, as formerly, to care for them; and Sierra Leone, instead of being a colony for their reception and location, is to be merely a dépôt, an appendage to the British colonies. It is now stated that these liberated Africans are to be called upon, after a residence at this settlement, within a week or ten days, to prove either their ability to maintain themselves, or to quit it as emigrants for the West Indies, or as aliens who have no right to be there. And this mode of peopling the colonies is to be dignified with the appellation of free emigration! The inhumanity of this arrangement is as great as its injustice. With respect to the Chinese and Coolies, as well as the African emigrants, the former regulations enforcing a certain proportion of the sexes to be taken to the colonies are renounced, so that it will now be competent to the importers to introduce none but the male sex. The consequence of such a measure must be deplorable, not only on the morals and welfare of the emigrants themselves, but also on the enfranchised negroes, who are under the care of our missionaries, just emerging out of a state of society, whose moral degradation was not less than the principle on which it was based was impious and cruel. Imagine masses of idolatrous and sensual Chinese and Hindoos thrown amongst the enfranchised population of our colonies, and the consequences, in a moral and religious point of view, must appear to all reflecting men as appalling. Yet for this, your money, the money of the nation, is to be rated as loans to the West Indians; your representatives are to affirm the views of the colonial secretary, and the planters and money, and men and morals, are to be sacrificed to the lust of gain. You will be called upon—the country will be called upon to resist this scheme as unsound in principle as it will prove injurious in practice. It is not in opposition to the West India body that you will be called upon to act, for their real interest will be found connected with economizing their resources, and calling into vigorous exercise the elements of prosperity which already exist in the colonies. They want not men, but capital, enterprise, and skill. They want a resident proprietary to take the place of absentees, mortgagees, attorneys, and merchants. Let them have this, and they may bid adieu to all schemes of emigration, save only those which are spontaneous and free, and which, while it benefited all parties interested in them, would involve no expense or responsibility on themselves. Mr. Scoble also observed that the legislation of the colonies, on the subject of contracts for labour, was beginning to excite attention and alarm. Trinidad had already passed an ordinance legalizing contracts made out of the colony for a period of twelve months, and, no doubt, would be followed by British Guiana and Jamaica. This was a most serious affair. Ignorant Africans, Chinese, and Hindoos, were to be bought under engagements for low wages, to perform a certain amount of work, the real nature and extent of which they knew nothing. The guarantee that has hitherto existed that they would be free to choose that employment and employer on arriving in the colony, is to be destroyed. Mr. Scoble said he would not dwell on the influence which such schemes would leave our foreign nations holding slaves in their colonies and territories. They also would become importers of nominally free, but really slave-labourers; and behind that there would undoubtedly arise a slave-trade which nothing could check or hinder. Let the Birmingham Society unite with the London Society in earnest protests against any scheme which would have such an issue. Let all the Anti-slavery Associations throughout the country petition the legislature against it, and then we may hope to see the colonies placed on a basis of sound, not factitious prosperity.

Mr. STURGE moved the third resolution. He said, Mr. Scoble had stated to them the great evils of this government emigration scheme, and he fully believed that it was impossible to prevent great oppression so long as the system was in action. The object of this emigration was to get cheap labour; and, to promote it, they proposed taking a million and a half of money from the public. In reference to the remarks made by

Mr. Morgan, the case of America proved that slavery might exist, notwithstanding the presence of religious teachers and the profession of Christianity. There had been, of late, some unfavourable reports of the state of things in Jamaica, from which it was made to appear that the elevating effects of emancipation had not been so great as was anticipated; and he himself was rather inclined to think that they had been somewhat too sanguine. He had, however, lately received some very encouraging accounts.

Mr. HOOPER seconded the resolution.

Votes of thanks were then passed and acknowledged, and the meeting separated.

SLAVERY—IRELAND.

To the Editor of the *Banner of Ulster*.

SIR,—Slavery will never be abolished until the Christian churches take the lead in the cause of justice and humanity; but, alas! in the United States of America it is not so; for the venerable John Quincy Adams describes the spirit of slavery as having placed its cloven hoof in the pulpits, and says, "whilst professors of colleges teach slavery as a lesson of morals, ministers of the Gospel profess to find authority for it in the word of God."

Thank God, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland have nobly come forward to the relief of the oppressed. At their late annual meeting in Derry, the following passage occurs in their letter to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America:—

"Whilst thus adverting to the influence of the church upon the world, we feel constrained to call your attention to an evil which has long disfigured your civil polity. We refer to the existence of slavery. And here we beg most respectfully to submit to your consideration the following resolution, adopted by us at our annual meeting of last year:—

"That we consider the enslavement of our fellow-creatures subversive of the natural rights of man, opposed to the spirit and precepts of the gospel, and ruinous to the temporal and eternal interests of multitudes of the human race. That, as an oppressive system of slavery exists in America, and particularly in many parts of the United States, where the knowledge of Christianity might have been expected to destroy so great an evil; and, as our intercourse with our brethren of the Presbyterian Church in that country affords us an opportunity of turning their attention to this subject, we do, in our communications to them, earnestly recommend their taking such practical steps as may tend to abolish an evil of such awful magnitude." And they go on to say, 'As lovers of liberty, you are bound to plead for the deliverance of your captive countrymen, and as the servants of Him who came to undo the heavy burthens, we trust you will not rest until the oppressed are permitted to go free.'"

The General Assembly received also a letter from the Associate Reformed Synod of the South United States of America, and in their reply, say—

"The subject of slavery has, of late, occupied our attention: and, on scriptural grounds, we feel bound to support those who are labouring for its universal abolition. We venture to hope that we may reckon upon your co-operation; and, as the evil prevails so extensively in the United States, we trust that you will not cease to protest and remonstrate until it is utterly extinguished. When taking up this question, we do not believe that we are travelling beyond our proper sphere, for slavery is at variance with the character of our holy religion; and the gospel, if fairly carried out into its legitimate application, must establish the political, as well as the ecclesiastical and spiritual freedom of the species."

Would to God, Mr. Editor, that the bishops, and clergy of the Established Church in England and Ireland would remonstrate with their brethren in the United States who are tainted with this hateful leprosy!—I am, &c.,

JAMES STANFIELD,
Honorary Secretary of the Belfast
Anti-Slavery Society.

Belfast, 26th September, 1844.

THE SLAVE-TRADING CASE.

CENTRAL CRIMINAL COURT.—Wednesday, Oct. 23.

(Before Mr. Justice MAULE and Mr. Baron ROLFE.)

At the sitting of the Court this morning Thomas Jennings, the captain of the *Augusta*, surrendered on discharge of his bail, to answer an indictment charging him with having navigated the said ship with a view to carry on the slave-trade.

It will be in the recollection of our readers that the defendant at the last sessions of this court had put in a plea of *autrefois acquit*, to which a demurrer was taken on the part of the Crown, and the question was argued before the presiding judges, Mr. Justice Wightman and Mr. Justice Cresswell. Those learned individuals took time to consider their judgment, and to-day,

Mr. Baron Rolfe read a lengthy judgment, which overruled the objections which had been taken on behalf of the prisoner, and held that the prisoner had not been tried at Sierra Leone for the offence specifically charged in the present indictment.

The case was ordered to stand over, and the prisoner retired from the bar.

October 24.

(Before Mr. Justice MAULE and Mr. Baron ROLFE.)

Thomas Jennings was placed at the bar this morning, charged on an indictment for feloniously navigating the ship *Augusta* on the high seas, for the purpose of carrying on the slave traffic.

Mr. Payne appeared as counsel for the prosecution, which arose out of the case of M. de Zulueta, owner of the said ship, which has already appeared in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

M. Prendergast and Mr. Clarkson were retained for the defence, who made application to the Court that the trial, which had been so long postponed, should either come on at once, or a day fixed for next session.

Mr. Payne, on the affidavit of a clerk in the service of the prosecutor, Sir George Stephens, moved to postpone the trial until next session. The affidavit stated that a material witness for the Crown, Captain Henry Worsley Hill, was absent on duty, as governor of the Gold Coast.

The learned counsel said that every endeavour had been used to hasten Mr. Hill's return, and he hoped that in the course of the present month he would have returned home.

The Court allowed the motion, and the prisoner was permitted to stand out on his former bail until next sessions.

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—[From a Correspondent.]—Our present Governor is a mere tool; he is in the hands of five or six large planting attorneys, and they govern the Governor. He is a man of no energy—no decision—no philosophic principles; and of the science of government I believe he knows nothing. O what a blessing to 400,000 people, just in the crisis of their history, would be a nobleman of nature's own moulding—a man that would learn for himself the actual condition of the people. If you were to ask me for an epitome of our prospects, I should say in a few words that, taxes, direct and indirect, are extravagantly high; provisions have been very dear; labour (in consequence of the drought) very difficult to be obtained, and wages generally 1s. a day; proprietors at home bound hand and foot by the English merchant; mammoth attorneys finding that in their labour a great profit; overseers afraid to make the best of estates; a vicious system of cultivation still continued; very many of the people becoming a middle class, so that labourers will be less abundant; whilst in every department of public expenditure the most shameless extravagance prevails. Such is Jamaica in 1844. No country under heaven could prosper with such management as we have in Jamaica. Our English friends have well nigh ceased to trouble their heads about us. The people are free, say they, and they must look out for themselves. But I assure you, that unless you are prepared to sacrifice all the great educational, moral, and political interests involved in the good or bad management of the free system; unless, too, you are anxious to convince the Spaniards, and the Americans, that freedom is a failure—you ought to continue a paternally jealous oversight of all our doings in this island. My opinion is, that now is the time for a deputation of clear-headed men to come to investigate the results of emancipation.

Foreign Intelligence.

GADELOUPE.—A letter from Guadeloupe, of the 29th of July, mentions that the blacks would be slaves no longer, and became maroons in great numbers. A decree of the Governor of the 11th of March, promises a reward of 30 francs (in addition to that payable by the owner) out of the fund of 100,000 francs inscribed in the colonial budget, for the capture of any black. It further enumerates fifteen maroons on the estate Juston; thirteen on Canet et Duc; eight on Ronjol; and sixteen on Dubos: in all fifty-two. All these are in a single district, that of Petit Bourg. In the districts of Grand Terre maroonage is still more frequent. *French Abolitionist*.

MARTINIQUE.—The *Univers*, the organ of the Catholic clergy, publishes in its number of September 27, a letter from Martinique, of the 22nd of June, which states that, for some time past, the owners of slaves appeared to have become more covetous and more cruel than ever. In a great number of gangs the slaves were treated in a most barbarous manner. Efforts were made to extort the utmost possible amount of labour from them, without regard to their strength. They expected their freedom, and already accused France of having broken its promises. Religious instruction retrograded instead of advancing. The voice of the Catholic priest is not listened to by the colonists; the children of the slaves are not permitted to attend school; the ordinance of 1840 is altogether disregarded.—*French Abolitionist*.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

THE following contributions have been received since our last, and are hereby thankfully acknowledged:—

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Wednesday, October 30, 1844.